

The JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

WALTER C. RECKLESS, *Editor*

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EDITORIAL

In attempting to deal with human problems it has become increasingly apparent that we must look at the child and understand more fully the nature of his development under varying conditions. Intelligent social planning for children in the future must have the benefit of basic insights made possible by research work. With a view towards stimulating important and timely researches in the child field and towards providing a means by which the child-development researchers in any one discipline can get acquainted more readily with what those in other disciplines are doing, the Society for Research in Child Development was recently founded.

But what may be expected from sociological studies in the child field? What distinctive contributions can sociologists make? What methods and points of view can they most profitably apply to child-development studies in the future? These were questions a representative group of sociologists tried to answer at the first meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development. E. W. Burgess and Walter C. Reckless were asked to act as chairman and secretary of the sociology section of the Society's initial meeting and were commissioned to organize the section program.

The papers by Reuter, Foster, Dollard, Loomis, and Smith were therefore read before the sociology section of the Society for Research in Child Development at its first meeting, November 3-4, Washington, D. C.

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The statement of the reasons for founding the new scientific body and what may be expected of it is made by Mr. Lawrence K. Frank, to whom we are greatly indebted for his active interest in the organization of the Society. Its very founding indicates that no one scientific discipline owns the concession to make studies of the child and that there is room for researches representing many different approaches.

We had planned for the inclusion of a statement by E. W. Burgess, who was chairman of the sociology section of the Society's first meeting, but circumstances made it necessary for the secretary to act in substitute capacity.

It is hoped that persons of sociological training and interest will divert more and more of their research efforts to studies which have a direct bearing on child development. If in the future sociologists can call attention to many significant and excellently done studies in this field, the faith that the founders of the Society for Research in Child Development had in them, by including them in the fellowship of more highly developed disciplines, will be amply rewarded.

WALTER C. RECKLESS

THE SOCIETY FOR RESEARCH IN CHILD DEVELOPMENT

LAWRENCE K. FRANK

The suggestion that another professional society be organized is justly met with protests by those who point out that we are already oversupplied with professional associations that call for money and time. The case for the newly organized Society for Research in Child Development rests in large part upon this justifiable attitude towards professional organizations but draws its major justification from the fact that the professional organizations for members of the different disciplines are no longer adequate to the professional needs of today. This is especially true in the life sciences, where the problems of real moment today demand the joint attention of a variety of the different disciplines, if any real work is to be done on them.

The new Society is an attempt to provide a professional association in which all those who are concerned with the study of children can find an opportunity for pooling their needs and interests with representatives of other disciplines also engaged in studying children. The impetus to the Society's organization came from the realization that today many of the pediatricians, anatomists, physiologists, endocrinologists, psychologists, sociologists, nutritionists, and others are unable to find within their own professional groups and meetings opportunities for critical discussions of questions of child research and, therefore, they are ready to cut across departmental lines to join with a group that has as its primary concern the advancement of our knowledge of child development. This intention was explicitly shown in the calling of a group of individuals representing the different disciplines to sponsor the new society and was officially confirmed in formally organizing the new society with a governing council chosen from different professional groups; namely, Dr. Richard E. Scammon, anatomy; Dr. Henry F.

Helmholz, pediatrics; Dr. E. V. McCollum, nutrition and biochemistry; Dr. R. S. Lynd, sociology; Dr. Adolf Meyer, psychiatry; Dr. George D. Stoddard, chairman-elect, child psychology; Dr. Carroll E. Palmer, secretary-treasurer, biometrics; and Lawrence K. Frank. Dr. R. S. Woodworth is the first chairman of the Society.

With such widespread representation in the directorate and in the membership, the Society has before it an opportunity to show what a professional association can do in the way of furthering research through the performance of a variety of much needed services. In the first place it is expected that the Society will serve as a medium of communication to the members of research findings and methods through publications. The *Child Development Abstracts* will be continued in response to a clear-cut demand from the members who find in this journal a convenient and economical way of keeping in touch with the current research journals, many of which would rarely, if ever, be read in full. The abstracts, therefore, make it possible for the specialists in any one field to know something about the character of investigations and the methods employed by other specialists. It is also expected that the Society will inaugurate a monograph series in which will be published for rapid and economical distribution both original research and critical reviews that will be of interest to the membership. The monographs will in no sense compete with or replace existing publications but will be dedicated to the publication of studies that are longitudinal; *i.e.*, cumulative studies of children over a period of years, and/or multi-discipline studies. The multi-discipline studies especially will be favored since they do not readily fit into the existing single-discipline publication arrangements. The critical reviews bring to the membership something of a well-considered examination of the methods and findings of the different life sciences that may be utilized in the study of child development.

The Society also serves the interests of its members through conferences and meetings that will, as far as possible, be organized primarily for the exchange of ideas, appraisal of results, and discussion of research needs and plans. With this in mind, the Society hopes to foster small professional conferences wherein the perplexing problems of methodology and procedure can be talked over, informally but practically, with a view to the formulation of recommendations for research. Here it should be emphasized that the Society is in no sense attempting to legislate or to regiment research but rather to encourage group discussions and the thinking of competent individuals whose recommendations should prove valuable as indicating fruitful and reliable procedures.

With the same purpose in mind, the Society will attempt to organize its biennial meetings as distinctly research conferences rather than as one more annual meeting with a string of papers and limited discussions. It is believed that the presentation of papers can be advantageously left to the annual meetings of the various professional associations and that the Society's meetings can, therefore, be addressed to this other task. In considering ways and means of carrying out such an intention it has been pointed out there is no real advantage in inviting the pediatrics group, for example, to a meeting where they talk to each other as they do in their own professional association. Rather it is emphasized that the pediatricians want to talk with the anatomists, psychologists, nutritionists, and the others about those questions where the judgment and experience of the other specialists will be of very direct value to the pediatricians both in research and clinical work, or where the pediatricians desire to make their own findings known to the other specialists. In general, it has been pointed out that every specialist in the child-research field is continually being faced with questions of methods, procedures, and the handling of data that are the more

direct concern of another group of specialists with whom he can and should be able to carry on mutually advantageous and enlightening discussions.

This basic policy and intention also indicates the possibility for further service insofar as the Society can bring together these different specialists to formulate plans and procedures for the guidance of various agencies which have immediate responsibility, not for research, but for the education, care, and protection of children. It is evident that the publicly supported agencies such as schools, health services, clinical services, and the like are in a position to accumulate valuable material on the development of children whom they are examining, testing, measuring, and treating, if some competent group would formulate plans that could feasibly be worked into the existing procedure. Such a task would be appropriate for the Society and might have the indirect effect of giving the professional men and women engaged in this administrative work an additional incentive and impetus through participation in scientific enterprises and through contact with research personnel. Moreover, the advice and judgment of the Society's membership may be of far-reaching value to the welfare of children reached through these public agencies. If the growing interest in the adolescent is carried forward into the formulation of new programs for the education and care of youth, this interaction between research interests and practical interests may have highly significant consequences for future social policies in this area because the child-research point of view will serve to emphasize both the extraordinary possibility for constructive work and the amazing neglect of developmental needs in the second decade.

Enough has been said to indicate the hopes that gave rise to the organization of this new society and various possibilities of constructive activities that will be of widespread interest and value. Perhaps a word more would be appropriate about the

growing concern with child development and child nurture as indicative of certain social trends. With the declining birth rate and the consequent stabilization of the population, the individual child not only will require more careful nurture but will merit more intelligent planning for his or her development. The increasing inability of the home and church and other social agents to work each in isolation from the others, and the increasing perplexities about the wisest procedures for the care of children are forcing the consideration of programs that at once recognize the many needs of the growing child and at the same time look to the principle of coördination, or perhaps a better word would be orchestration, of agencies and specialists to meet those needs in a manner more conducive to wholesome development. Herein we see the flowing together of two hitherto distinct points of view and interests: on the one hand, we have had the disciplines interested primarily in the study of aggregates and large groups, with the individual, as such, ignored in the interests of generalizations and norms; and, on the other hand, we have had the clinical group concerned with the individual and giving little attention to the group characteristics which he shares to a greater or less extent. Out of the meeting of these two points of view is coming a much more significant conception of individual variability and a keener understanding of the necessity for seeing the individual with all of his variabilities against the background of the larger aggregate. These ideas may have considerable influence on our future thinking and to the extent that the study of child development serves to illuminate their potentialities as well as their limitations, such studies may make large contributions to the development of the life sciences in general. At least we may say that those interested in the study of child development with particular emphasis on the longitudinal or cumulative aspects of individual growth of an organism growing up in a culture are concerning themselves with problems involving the future of biological and social research and social planning.

AN EVALUATION OF THE SUBJECTIVE METHODS OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

E. B. REUTER

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It will be granted without argument that there is nothing esoteric about method as such. The term refers to the general procedure by which results are achieved, the general plan followed in getting something done. At most it is a type of strategy, an organization of ways and means to the accomplishment of a definite task. In research it refers to the means by which conclusions are derived from data. There is nothing about research method that is sacred per se, nothing in method itself to justify the somewhat reverential attitude that students sometimes assume towards it. Nor is there any patent superiority of one procedure over others that will account for the patronizing attitude that those who manipulate certain techniques sometimes assume towards those who exploit others.

It will also be granted without argument that all research method, in any fundamental sense, is subjective. The visualization of a problem, the plan of attack, the selection of tools, the observation of phenomena, the choice of pertinent data, the seeing of relations, the discovery of ways by which nonobvious relations may be made apparent are among the major steps in research procedure and each is a subjective item. The whole procedure of fundamental research from observation through selection and classification to inference and conclusion, as well as the seeing of the abstract and general in the concrete and specific, the advance from empirical observation to principle and law, is one of constructive imagination and logical thought.

When distinction is made between objective and subjective, reference is generally had to something other than method. There are, to be sure, especially in relation to certain routine

problems of administrative investigation on an empirical level, some standardized and formal procedures that are more or less generally applicable and whose manipulation requires a minimum of imagination and judgment. There is also a varied group of tools and techniques, sometimes confused with research method, that are useful or even essential to certain types of research procedure. Some of these, as the microscope, the telescope, and the camera, are aids to observation. Others do service in later stages of methodological procedure: the statistical technique, for example, as all of the mechanical devices incident thereto, is an indispensable tool in dealing with certain orders of phenomena. But I take it we are here interested in method rather than in the technical tools and devices by means of which research procedures are carried on. And method is, quite obviously, secondary to other things. The natural order seems to be that a body of information desired sets a problem. The nature of the problem, in turn, determines the types of data and the procedures appropriate to its analysis and solution. The means are incidental to the task in hand; that is, to the types of information desired and to the nature of the data available for examination. The basic distinctions appear to be between types of problems and types of data rather than between types of method.

The only evidences of personality and the only data bearing upon it are forms of behavior in specific situations. On the basis of empirical data it is possible to set up a dichotomy that is at least superficially valid. Certain social and personal facts have a greater degree of objectivity than seems to be the case of other human facts. Marriages, deaths, migrations, violations of law, and the like have a kind of objectivity which is absent in such phenomena as group solidarity, personal resentment, social attitudes, and the like. If the objectivity is not more real, it is at least more patent in the one type of reality than in the other.

In the one case the behavior is readily observable, easily recorded, and definitely measurable; the facts may be enumerated, classified, correlated, or manipulated otherwise in a purely objective way; they may be used without being in any way contaminated by the intrusion of subjective elements into the procedure; observation, description, and conclusion may proceed without speculation, without theory, and without interpretation, guided only by the facts as they are revealed. In the other case the behavior facts are elusive, ill defined, and reluctant to quantitative treatment.

Subjective methods seem to refer to the technical and logical procedures appropriate to the study of personal documents and other material where the objects of interest appear in disguise or in combination rather than in isolation and purity. The reference is to conversations, interviews, case records, life histories, biographies, autobiographies, confessions, diaries, personal letters, and the more or less naïve and informal sources of information of an abstract, general, and timeless nature may be derived from them.

The general problem towards which the subjective methods are oriented is one of meanings, of insight into and understanding of the subjective aspects of human nature. The students who work by the so-called subjective methods and with so-called subjective documents are deliberately, consciously, and frankly seeking to understand rather than merely to record, tabulate, and correlate.

But we understand only those things that have meaning. Empirical facts do not tell their own story; they must be interpreted if, indeed, every fact is not an interpretation. The student is committed to the position that no significant body of observation can be collected without guiding hypotheses. Facts of behavior have no meaning except as they are related by some unifying principle, except as they may be fitted into some sys-

tem. Understanding, insight, comprehension—what term you will—comes from seeing the individual and concrete in relation to some whole. Acuteness of insight, the ability to relate, is in its very nature subjective. It is also the characteristic mark of the scientist as distinct from the routine worker in the field of science; it is the very essence of science as distinct from the mechanics and routine of research procedure.

A chief source of failure in subjective research, that is, in much work on personal documents, lies in its unrelated nature, in the fact that it is not brought within any tenable conceptual system. Often the raw empirical data are presented more or less in common-sense terms. At other times, relation is made to an untenable conceptual system or to one in which the phenomena do not fit. The latter seems to be one of the major fallacies in a great range of social psychological work on personality.

Nothing, for example, would seem to be more evident in the whole body of social psychological literature of child study than that the essential problems involved are not psychological and that psychology has no technique for dealing with them. Some part of the present confusion lies in the fact that much that is called and believed to be psychological study of personality is, in reality, a study of certain forms of interaction and lies outside the province of the trained psychologist. Critical examination of the terms and concepts in common use in the psychological literature reveals many of them to be purely sociological in essence. For example, of the four traits of personality which the Bernreuter personality inventory purports to measure—neurotic temperament, self-sufficiency, introversion, and dominance—certainly the last three, and possibly the first, are types of interaction. The terms and concepts show the psychologists' appreciation of the overwhelming importance of the social aspects of personality: dominance, submissiveness, self-assertion,

self-sufficiency, introversion, extraversion, honesty, deceit, coöperation, leadership, inhibition, and so through a long list are not psychological terms. The psychological "types" of the various schools, such as those of Kretschner and Jaensch, are of significance only in the field of interaction with others. The psychiatric concepts are of course clearly social as, for example, the notion of inferiority on which the Adler system is based; inferiority is manifest and of significance only in a social situation.

In spite of this fact, the typical and routine procedure is to relate the facts of behavior and the data of observation to a conceptual system in which they do not fit and where their meaning is effectively concealed. The grossest expression of this lack of insight is, perhaps, in current enumeration and measurement of personality traits.

The craze for the enumeration and measurement of personality traits seems to be, on the one hand, a revival in a new form of the older Victorian faculty psychology and, on the other hand, a somewhat noncritical acceptance and adaptation of the intelligence-testing procedure.

It is not my intention to enter into any detailed criticism of the "traits" as such, nor of the assumptions involved in their use, nor of the validity of the results in the heavy reports resting on the refined measurements and correlations of these undefined and variously labeled artificial particles. I am interested rather in the essential fallacy, that is, in the assumption that personality may properly be studied and understood by any system of measurements of the properties of individual personalities.

I quote from an unpublished paper of a co-worker.

The fundamental nature and processes involved in the phenomenon called personality are no more to be understood in terms of the inherent properties or traits than the fundamental processes involved in the falling of bodies is to be understood in terms of their weights, forms,

specific gravities, or other inherent properties. The efforts to understand personality and to discover the basic laws which govern it, by means of elaborate and careful methods for determining and measuring its traits and properties, are the equivalent of devising careful and painstaking methods for determining the weight and other properties of falling bodies in order to arrive at the laws governing their process of fall.

This is by no means to say that the inherent properties of the interacting organism, whether it is a stone or a personality, play no part in the resulting behavior in the specific instance. It makes a great deal of difference in the behavior of fall whether a one-pound weight is condensed into a one-inch cube or flattened out so as to cover a square yard of area. But the fundamental law in terms of which the process is to be understood is the same in either case. So with the study of personality: the fundamental laws will be found in the processes of interaction, but the behavior of individuals will show, in addition to such fundamental processes, the results of specific physiological or psychological conditions prevailing at the time.

Behavior of given subjects under given conditions is all that can be observed and studied. It is for that reason that May says: "In all this work the guiding formula should be that personality can be most easily and most scientifically measured by taking samples of behavior." (Mark A. May, "Problems of Measuring Character and Personality." *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1932, p. 131-143.) This is of course true, but, having sampled it, to what conceptual whole shall we relate the isolated instances—to a concept of the properties of the personality, or to that of the interaction of the personality with others? The first procedure kept physics barren of results for two thousand years; it will leave personality study barren of results as long as it is persisted in.¹

Objectively viewed the work of the psychologist has emphasized, unwittingly perhaps, the dominant importance of the social aspects and significance of personality. It is the problem of the sociologists to develop a set of techniques and a conceptual system, particularly a conceptual system, adequate to the research problems. As a first step there is needed a frank recognition of the necessity of utilizing and developing the sub-

¹ Jessie R. Runner, unpublished manuscript.

jective concepts and techniques of the discipline offering the best chance of success in the interpretation and control of personality.

The immediate question is, what are the units into which the sociologist can analyze personality and what are the unifying principles in terms of which he can relate the facts of behavior in such a way as to explain and interpret these facts. It is only as the facts are analyzed into abstract units and these related to some conceptual whole that the facts themselves will have any meaning. A candid and critical evaluation of current research which uses subjective materials must emphasize the paucity of the conceptual equipment. This may be due in some part to the fact that workers do not always make the most of such theoretical framework as is available, but it also is due in some part to the fact that the framework itself is not altogether adequate. In the present stage of procedure one fruitful hypothesis—one idea—is worth more than a library of concrete investigations and reports.

OBJECTIVE METHODS OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH GENERALLY APPLICABLE TO CHILD-DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

ROBERT G. FOSTER

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We should recognize at the outset that some investigators emphasize the distinction between objective and subjective more than others do. Strictly speaking, there are no objective and subjective absolutes. There are degrees of objective-subjectivity. This is particularly true in social-science research. The fundamental problem is one of objectifying the subjectivity of the researcher.

I have not assumed the subject of my paper to include theoretical aspects of research methodology. Such works as Rice's *Methods in the Social Sciences*¹ and numerous articles in the *American Journal of Sociology* cover these points fairly adequately. The limitations of questionnaires, case histories, census data, rating scales, and tests in obtaining valid and reliable information are well known, while such considerations as accurate definition of the field of study, representativeness of sample, and specific definitions of the units to be studied must be kept in mind in proceeding with our subject.²

If we are to study the child, it would seem desirable to recognize him as constituting individual biological characteristics in a developmental process of growth that changes at various periods, and as a socially conditioned organism having varying traits of personality, some of which continue to be amenable to reconditioning and redirection. It seems to me one of the sociologist's first tasks in this field is to devise some way of measuring the pressure of social and cultural demands made upon the

¹ Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931.

² For an excellent bibliography of types of research study, see C. Luther Fry, *The Technique of Social Investigation* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934).

child. If we begin by developing rather rough rank-order scales³ for measuring the effect of many of the factors in the environment of the child, it should be possible gradually to refine them to a considerable degree of reliability.

Inspection of a number of sociological studies, classified according to the scheme followed in the *American Journal of Sociology*, shows the heterogeneity of subjects dealt with in the field.⁴ Yet an analysis of the studies will show that they study the same phenomena, that the only real basis of differentiation would seem to be in the general functional points of view they represent.

In his recent book on *The Fields and Methods of Sociology*,⁵ Bernard reports twenty-nine subdivisions in the field of sociological science, some overlapping in various degrees with related physical and social sciences. An analysis of current research studies reported in the *American Journal of Sociology* shows six distinct methods of research, seven techniques of collecting data, and eight types of approach. In the studies listed in the appendix of the present paper, seven techniques of collecting data, five methods of research, and eight different approaches are discernible. These are as follows:

Methods of Research

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. The historical method | 4. The statistical method |
| 2. The survey method | 5. The experimental method |
| 3. The case method | 6. Combinations of the above |

Techniques of Collecting Data

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| 1. The questionnaire (mailed; as an interview outline) | 3. Autobiographies |
| 2. The interview (questionnaire outline; case history outline) | 4. Moving pictures |
| | 5. Tests and rating scales |

³ L. K. Frank, "Personality and Rank Order," *American Journal of Sociology*, September 1929, p. 177.

⁴ See appendix at end of this article.

⁵ New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1934.

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|---|--|
| 6. Observation (participant observer; controlled experimentation; detached observation) | ernment publications (national, state, local), private agency reports, research studies, etc.) |
| 7. Documentary evidence (diaries, letters, census information, court proceedings, gov- | 8. Combinations of the above techniques |

Approaches

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 1. Philosophical or theoretical | 6. Psychological |
| 2. Historical | 7. Psychiatric and psychoanalytic |
| 3. Anthropological | 8. Sociological (contemporary culture) |
| 4. Economic | |
| 5. Biological | |

It would be interesting to see how the methods used in such studies as Rice's study of political opinion, the Chicago School's Ecological Studies, Thomas's *Social Aspects of the Business Cycle*, Burgess's work on Prediction of Successful Parole, and Lindeman's *Social Discovery* could be applied to child studies. The technique of participant observation described in *Social Discovery* would seem to have many definite applications to the study of child problems. Sanderson, Thurow, Dennis, and others have used variations of this method for studying family and child relationships. Another ingenious technique for dealing with group structure and relationships is set forth in Dr. J. L. Moreno's new book, *Who Shall Survive*. He uses schools and institutions for young people as the basis of his study, and his diagrammatic representation of relationships in the various group activities of these children is a useful tool.

Clifford Kirkpatrick's development of a belief-pattern scale for measuring attitudes towards feminism has great possibility for application to young people of elementary- and high-school level, and particularly to studying the manner in which girls acquire their concepts of woman's role in society and their attitudes towards woman in general.

The studies of ecology, mobility, and population shifts have

direct application to the study of childhood, and an indirect bearing in the effects of these various factors upon children. The studies of Shaw, Thrasher, and others have made direct use of these techniques in child studies. Professor Blumer at Chicago has emphasized the need for special studies of the unique culture of various levels of child life. This approach should be productive of data as basic to good teaching and child guidance as the work of Margaret Mead. In fact, this approach would seem to me to be the unique contribution of sociology to studies of child development.

So one might go through the topical list of sociological research studies, recasting them in terms of their relevance to an understanding of children. But it seems to me desirable that there should be a division of sociological research concerned more or less with the various aspects of the sociology of childhood. Such a scheme might be outlined as follows:

The Sociology of Childhood

1. Sociological techniques and methods of child study
2. Historical and comparative studies of the child in society
3. Studies of the social attitudes and personality of children
4. Social problems, pathology, and adjustments of childhood
5. The social organization and institutions of childhood
6. Population, ecological, and demographic studies of childhood
7. Conflict and accommodation groups of childhood

I should like to suggest one quantitative project⁶ that would be significant in the study of the first and second decades of life. The study is posited upon the hypothesis that one of the most important indexes of our culture from the standpoint of adult life is the time-place standardization of our life ways and that the child must gradually accommodate himself to this factor. These institutional cultural demands or social pressures are multitudinous and important and, I think, amenable to quan-

⁶ Based upon material presented at the New Haven conference of sociologists and others on adolescence, April 27-29, 1934.

tification on a scale basis. The demands, restrictions, and opportunities incident to the growth and development of the child might form a useful basis of interpreting some of the adjustments children make in experiencing widening institutional contacts. In such a study the biological changes that occur with maturation must be kept in mind. As an example let us consider the types of demands made upon the child in the American school, the most universal extrafamilial institution impinging upon the life of the child.

Demands the School Makes Upon the Child

1. Punctuality.
2. Attendance (the extent to which the child must attend and the extent to which he must attend a particular school).
3. Discipline—that is, the child must be quiet, properly respectful, etc.
4. Achievement—academic, physical, educational, social, etc. In this field there are many degrees of participation.
5. Submission to various types of school programs and classifications, such as transition from junior high school to senior high school, from common school to junior high school, and special types of school classification and organization. These demands are often made without much regard for the individual capacities of the children concerned.
6. Compulsory educational demands—for example, the requirement that the child who must earn wages before reaching the minimum school-leaving age should continue his education in a continuation school.
7. Homework demands, which are varied and more or less exacting.
8. The demands of extracurricular activities, which are to some extent the result of social compulsives rather than actual school demands.
9. Demands that children take certain types of courses.
10. Ability classifications, forcing children to keep up with a certain level of ability.
11. Variable demands the teacher's personality makes upon the child and conflicts arising out of these demands. An example is given in the studies of teachers' attitudes made by Wickman.

12. Extraschool demands made on the children through the school; for example, thrift drives, patriotic movements, and the influence of such groups as the American Legion, D.A.R., etc., which promote certain points of view through the schools.

13. The health requirements of the school.

14. Compulsion to choose vocational and avocational studies before the child's life interests have been defined.

15. Contradictory demands of the school.

In analyzing these demands of the school upon the child we shall have to consider the sources of data, the kinds of data we need, ways of observing children, what factors are observable in the school, and what indicators we have of the effect of school demands upon the behavior of children.

As sources of data we have school records; interviews with parents, teachers, attendance officers, etc.; cases of individual children; studies of different school systems; the reports of adolescents, e.g., what these various demands seem to reflect in the mind of the adolescent; studies of the activities of adolescents through studies of the adolescent and how he registers the effects of institutional demands in reactions to other agencies; and demographical material within a local cultural area, e.g., a particular group if followed over a five-year period would reveal some of the influences of these various and conflicting demands upon the child.

We should need psychiatric, psychological, biological, and sociological data. In terms of sociological data we should want a demographic study at the beginning and at certain periods of development, definable measures of institutional demands, and a technique of study which would make it possible for different investigators to get the same results.

We can observe the adolescent by means of experimental studies, individual life histories, and observation of participation in various types of informal activity.

It should be possible to observe such factors as tardiness,

absences, misdemeanors in class, intelligence quotients, achievement tests and school placement, including retardation, desertion from home, leisure-time diary schedules, and institutional membership and participation. A study of a city block where there are adolescent children in the homes, made by a superior adolescent as a participant observer, would be of value.

We should want to determine what kind of indicators we have of the effect of school demands upon child behavior, how far institutions accommodate themselves to individual differences, and what differences seem to be noted in situations where adolescents have shared in the planning of their own program and where they are regimented into a schedule.

In summary, I have attempted to show some of the types of objective research that are being conducted by sociologists, the methods and techniques and approaches they have used, and how far these types and techniques of social research are applicable to the study of children. In addition, I have pointed out the desirability of formulating a definite field of research in the sociology of childhood.

APPENDIX

TYPES OF RESEARCH IN SOCIOLOGY¹

A. *Human Nature and Personality Studies*

Ruth Shoule Cavan, The relation of home background to personality adjustment of adolescents.

K. V. Francis and E. A. Fillmore, The influence of environment upon the personality of children (*Studies in Child Welfare*, ix, 2, University of Iowa, 1934, 5 + 71 pages).

K. Young, The measurement of personal and social traits.

Read Bain, The self words of a child.

Paul Furfey, A scale for measuring developmental age in girls.

C. Kirkpatrick, Construction of a belief-pattern scale for measuring attitudes toward feminism and its standardization with respect to reliability and validity.

B. *Population and Demographic Studies*

Park, Burgess and McKenzie, Ecological studies of the urban community.

W. A. Anderson, Population trends in New York State.

Raymond Pearl, Studies of population.

Truesdale, Whelpton, Thompson, and others, Population trends and analysis studies.

W. A. Anderson, Mobility of sons and daughters in twenty-five hundred families in Genesee County, New York.

C. *Social Organization and Social Institutions*

Ross Warren Sanderson, The strategy of city church planning (New York Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1932, XVI + 245 pages).

Herbert Blumer, Relation of the depression to certain behavior problems of Negro adolescent girls in Chicago.

Francis Stuart Chapin, A quantitative rating scale for rating the home and social environment of middle-class families in urban communities.

D. *The Family*

E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, Prediction of adjustment in marriage happiness in relation to age at marriage.

¹"Current Research Projects," *American Journal of Sociology*, XL, 2 (September 1934), p. 221. Most of these studies have not been published.

E. R. Mowrer, The ecology of the family.

C. E. Lively, Relation of size of farm families to length of time married and size of farm business.

E. Social Control

L. L. Bernard, The mob.

Frederic M. Thrasher, An evaluation of the work of a large boys' club.

F. The Rural Community.

C. R. Hutchinson, The pure milk association.

E. L. Kirkpatrick, Effect of the depression on farm family living.

D. E. Lindstrom, Factors affecting rural social organization.

G. Peoples and Cultural Groups

T. E. Sullenger, A study of ethnic assimilation in Omaha.

C. Horace Hamilton, Rural-urban migration in North Carolina.

H. Conflict and Accommodation

W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish peasant in Europe and America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927, 2 vols.).

J. J. Rhyne, The Indian in Oklahoma.

M. H. Leiffer, The population pyramid as a test of the adequacy of the church program.

I. Social Problems, Pathology, and Adjustment

James Ford, Research on slums and housing policy.

Jerome Davis, Survey of jail population in Connecticut.

William Healy, Augusta F. Bronner, E. M. H. Baylor, and J. Prentice Murphy, Reconstructing behavior in youth (New York and London: Alfred A. Knopf, 1929, XI + 325 + IX pages).

J. Theory and Methods

J. A. Neprash, The validity of responses to questionnaires.

Mapheus Smith, A scale of status of occupations.

Niles Carpenter, A social index of the Buffalo area.

J. G. Leyburn, Frontier folkways (Louis Stern Memorial Fund, Yale University Press, 1935, X + 291 pages).

D. S. Thomas, Ruth Arrington, and Alice Loomis, Observational studies of social behavior.

A METHOD FOR THE SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF INFANCY AND PRESCHOOL CHILDHOOD

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Most sociological studies begin with the assumption that culture forms have already been transmitted to the individual. He is already fully equipped to consort with his kind when we first see him; just how this was accomplished we are not prepared to say in any great detail though we insist that, coming into the group he did, he had no option but to be the person he became. The sociological hypothesis forces us to push as far as possible the principle that all behavior is social—that is, defined by the conduct of others in social interaction. It is conceived to be an essential part of the sociologist's task to hold himself accountable for describing the growth of the individual in associated life.¹ This is essential because it is only through such studies that we can understand the transmission of the social heritage to a new individual. If we wish to hold tight to our terminology we may consider that we are not merely "taking a life history" but we are investigating the process by which a new individual is made a qualified group member.

There is no time point in the life of an individual short of his birth where the sociologist can safely begin an investigation of the individual who is to become acculturated. Either we must begin with the initial socialization of the child or we are leaving out an essential step in our researches. Comparative researches in different societies have shown us indubitably the arbitrary (traditional) character of human action.² What they still withhold from us is a precise description of how the individual is induced to behave in the conventional manner. This knowledge

¹ E. B. Reuter and C. W. Hart, *Introduction to Sociology* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933), p. 6.
York: The Macmillan Company, 1934).

² For example, see George Peter Murdock, *Our Primitive Contemporaries* (New

we may hope to get by a study of the very young child in our own society.

So far sociologists seem to have progressed back from the study of mature individuals acting in adult groups to the period of adolescence, partly by way of studies of delinquency.⁸ The preadolescent child is still largely a mystery so far as we are concerned, and so long as this is true our theoretical knowledge will be incomplete.

The writer has several times posed to himself the problem of methods of child study and found that a number of difficulties supervene. The preschool child, for instance, is not able to give us a life history. The young child is still so intimately a part of the family milieu that observation of him outside of the family situation is likely to put the problem inaccurately. Even in the nursery school one sees in a three-year-old child a process of social development of considerable sophistication. The method of putting a researcher in the home to observe a child in relation to its parents is not likely to help very much unless the observer remains so consistently in the family as to become part of its structure.

A possibility still remains, namely, of inducing one of the parents to become the participant observer of the growing child. It is this possibility which I wish to recommend. Of the two parents the mother is by all odds the choice as observer because she is so much more important, as a rule, in the life of the child up to five years, and because she is at home while the other parent is likely to be working and in infrequent contact with the maturing child. The mother would be a participant observer in the sense that it is her function to transmit to the child (largely unwittingly) the fundamental expectations and opportunities offered by its group. If, in addition to this task, she can learn

⁸ William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *Delinquents and Criminals* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926), p. 15.

to view herself and the child as actors in this situation, we may expect to have from her invaluable scientific data which are attainable in virtually no other way.

In thinking over a research plan it occurred to me that there are a number of young married women who are reasonably well trained in the social-science field and who have given up careers in social science to marry. Such persons I thought would make ideal sociological research mothers. They might still wish to use their scientific training in a situation which would not divert attention from their duties of child rearing and might be interested in the unique position which they occupy as potential scientific contributors.

The plan was to elicit the interest of such a mother in this research and to provide her with an opportunity to dictate or write her daily observations on the behavior of her child, and to describe her own relation to him, as well as the child's relations with his siblings and father. At the outset, it was assumed, these observations would be extremely naïve. Two other assumptions were also made: (a) that the activity of the child as recorded day by day would reveal constant patterns, and (b) that the mother would gain in skill as an observer as she went along. In regard to (b) the writer worked out a plan whereby the "research mother" would discuss with him every week the materials accumulated during the previous week.

We take, then, as our object of study a mother with a child and, in specific, the social and emotional growth of the child under the influence of family contacts. Preliminary study has indicated that this is a topic about which we can learn much. So far the writer has undertaken three such studies, none of them satisfactory by even the simplest criteria, such as length of time for testing out the hypothesis, but all of them in various ways encouraging and illuminating. Unfortunately none of the material is ready for publication at this time or even for very

specific reference and discussion. However, enough has been done so that it does not seem too optimistic to make a preliminary report.

Some conclusions from the study so far will be listed here and discussed. It is already clear that the method of observation by the mother herself under the control of a consultant is a useful research situation. It delivers a picture of the growth of the child which removes to a considerable degree the parental bias to which all unguided reports of children by their own parents are liable. Without guidance the mother tends to give a picture of an ideal child according to her conception of the culture pattern and this acts as a constant distorting force in the material. Much of the "training" of the research mother consists in aiding her to avoid this type of bias.

The method yields a mass of concrete material by showing the impact of family life for a considerable time period. The material can be studied as a whole and will impress a student of child sociology as being a unified body of fact. It reveals in children, older than infants, patterned character and a definite structure of life. It enables study of the nature-nurture question in a concrete situation where one can handle moot issues by reference to a social context intimately known.

One is not forced, in case of such materials, to "reconstruct" the earlier experience of the individual by study of his overt present-day behavior, as students of the adult person must do. In many cases one can actually witness through the eyes of the mother the accomplishment of readjustments on the part of the child which have a permanent molding effect on its character—that is, one can see the process of socialization at work in a concrete instance. Naturally not all the material is of this type but the earlier the age of the child the more likely one is to see the bending and molding of the organic life by the social experience of the individual.

By such studies the growth of the normal child can be investigated. Usually we have to select our subjects for detailed human study when some fracture of their relations to the organized group brings them to our attention. But the method outlined herein enables us also to study "normal" children. This is no small advantage because the direct study of the "normal" person is difficult due to the fact that one of the prerogatives of normality is exemption from the attention of court and psychiatrist.

The material returned by and discussed with the research mother strikingly reveals the great importance of the parental attitudes existing before the birth of the child and of the exact marital adjustment of the parents at the time the child is conceived and born. The attitudes of the parents appear to function with remarkable consistency before the child's birth and through its early years. These attitudes are in a crucial sense the significant milieu of the child and should be the objects of the most intensive research. One can speak of them before the child's birth as the anticipatory culture of the child; they are probably more fateful for the future of the child than any details of its material milieu.

The data also clearly indicate the directness with which the study of the child leads into the current marital situation and problems, if any, of the parents. This immediately adds a very unwelcome element to our research. We set out to study the child and find ourselves confronted with the child as an aspect of group integration, that of the family. We had not prepared our "research mother" to reveal to us very much about herself or her husband, let alone their most personal relationships. At this very point research of this sort is likely to founder and at the same point we undoubtedly reach the limits of penetration of the method into the life of the child. It may be that much of what we want to know, because it is of character-forming significance

for the child, is privileged material from the standpoint of the parents and that only in rare cases will we be able to carry through such a research with thoroughness. However, though centering our attention on the child in any given case, one does learn a great deal, without pressing at all, about the character of the parent or parents, because the mother exhibits herself so significantly in her relationships with her child. In reality the child is to be viewed as a social function of the family as formed previous to its birth and existing during its early years. One receives the strongest impression that any child studied in isolation is an unreal object of research, and by isolation I mean outside the direct influence of its sociological parents. The family is its "field" in the same way that falling bodies can only be understood in terms of a universal gravitational field.

An interesting facet of the research is the fact that the mother, if a good observer, can keep track to a considerable degree of the child's actions in play-group situations as these relationships become important. By little conspiracies with other mothers who are occasionally in charge of the subject child the reporting mother can get a good picture of the child in its play-group situation and study its first out-family contacts. This is invaluable by way of comparison with the action of the child in the family itself. It suggests an ideal state of affairs where one might make studies of a series of children in the same play group, the mothers collaborating and conspiring to intensify our insight into the action of the group as a whole. It is not impossible that such a cluster of studies could be established in some fortunate situation.

A bothersome finding is the fact that it is difficult to publish significant materials gained by such a research. The difficulty is suggested by the point made above, namely that the child proves to be a point of entry to the life of the family group and specifically to normal mothers and fathers resident in your own

community. Unusual care has to be exercised to disguise the materials and it is probably best by all odds if the investigator from the very outset does not reveal who his informants are. It is lamentable that in the publication of such materials specific credit cannot be given to the mother who has labored so faithfully, but there seems no way of overcoming this barrier.

The perturbing voice of scientific conscience offers an objection. Suppose we do not get "all" of the material but only the little patches of it which the mother is capable of observing. Will this not materially distort our picture of the child? Our first answer to this query is that it may be true; on second thought we insist that we are not going to begin by assuming that it is true and therefore deserting a promising path to new knowledge. We will accept its truth only as a regretful conclusion of protracted research. Preliminary experience seems to indicate a negative answer. Only in earliest infancy does one see segmental activity; very early in the life of a child one receives the definite impression from the recorded material that he has before him an organized life and a "personality policy."

Another difficulty which may be encountered by any one undertaking such a study of a child is the fact that the "research mother" will tend to overlook any behavior of the child which stirs latent conflicts of her own. The research technique, however, presses her to report without bias the action of the child even if it does stir her emotionally. There is the danger, therefore, that for the mother the situation may be one of increasing tension and of disturbing emotional conflict. She may, for example, be forced to admit to herself that her child shows disagreeable biting tendencies, tendencies which have been elaborated in her own character development and of which she is not proud. Her response to these activities of the child may lead her to overlook them entirely and thus to leave them out of the record, or to attempt to extirpate those activities, of which she

is in turn ashamed and unwilling to report, by punishment of the child. There is no way of avoiding the heightened emotional conflict of the mother who undertakes such a work as this. If she responds with great intensity and personal discomfort the only solution is to drop the research. At this point we must confess that we are not masters of our material. Very often, however, a research which is terminated in this way yields results of very great value because it helps us to understand how keenly the child is knit into the emotional life of the parents and to evaluate these affective parental ties at their true significance. There is probably no way of knowing in advance whether a research will have to be abandoned for the above reason.

Those of us who have experienced the satisfaction of using refined methods of description and analysis may consider these suggestions unduly primitive and look forward only to hazardous and uncertain results. It is necessary to resist one's scientific conscience at this point with all possible vigor. Our valuable methods will not escape us while we are doing the arduous exploratory work required of a science; they will rather remain right at our elbows and ready for use whenever we have something significant to use them on. The methodology must fit the problem if we wish to understand and control phenomena outside ourselves; it is no good complaining that we will not study problems if they do not meet us in a form corresponding to our methodological equipment; we must rather invent methods to solve problems that seem significant.

In discussing the material with the mother it is found best not to make specific recommendations in regard to the child but to place the emphasis on discussion of the changes in the child's behavior. Whatever insight these discussions may give to the research mother she will apply in her own way. It cannot be denied that such discussions of material may somewhat change the growth sequence of the child in question, but we must re-

member that our interference at this point is a very slight thing as compared with the impacted mass of organized culture which the mother embodies and which she transmits to the child. We need have no fear that with our David's stone we shall slay this Goliath. Naturally one attempts in the present state of our knowledge to minimize one's therapeutic interference because of its guesswork character. One prefers to let nature take its course rather than to become responsible for alterations of behavior whose effect one cannot foresee.

It is important not to let the child know he is under observation by a parent because this knowledge will enter as a factor into the situation and may somewhat distort its behavior. This is not true of infants, of course, but is surprisingly true of children at five or six years.

It is highly desirable in the recording for the mother to separate her opinions and interpretations of the behavior of the child from an exact recording of what it sees, does, wants, how it plays, etc. This applies also to the control observer. The basic material should be published separate from opinions and interpretations of the research mother or the control observer.

A word should be said about the researcher himself in this sort of work. He (or she) should be a person with a satisfactory social adjustment who is proof against the temptation to minor exploitations of these relationships. Sociology will certainly be able to produce such persons. Besides this qualification a painstaking survey of his own life history is a very great asset indeed. Persons, and sociologists are no exception, differ greatly in their realism about their own social and emotional adjustments. Some carry scotoma which are obvious to all but themselves. Others have excellent, if unsystematized, insight into their own life sequences and studying them cannot be amiss. What is certain is that the control observer will systematically block out those aspects of the child's behavior which are painful or re-

pugnant to him. Very little experience in actually doing this type of work will enable one to catch himself at just this point. Perfection from this standpoint is not to be hoped for in any observer; but we can be aware of the danger at the outset and do our best to guard against it.

The object of these case studies through research mothers is to develop a thoroughly socialized conception of the growth of the child in our society. If this task can be achieved, it will place researches undertaken on the child in a proper perspective. It seems likely also to give us a new sense of the importance of the somatic tensions which urge the child into social coöperation. I have attempted to stress a context and method of research that is specifically sociological; if found useful it will probably supplement and interlock with existing methods and results. Where technically possible all methods, such as study of physical growth and group study of children in the nursery school, can be used at the same time as the one herein proposed.

A FEW CRITICAL POINTS IN APPLYING OBJECTIVE SOCIOLOGICAL METHODS TO THE STUDY OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT¹

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In considering the applicability of objective methods used in sociological research to studies in child development, we turn at once to the standards, by adherence to which these researches claim reliability and social value.

Standards of "objective methods" are based on unequivocal definition of terms and on such care in the selection and treatment of data that biasing factors are reduced to the minimum. The crucial test of this realistic treatment of carefully defined problems is the verifiability of results by independent observers. The application of this test gives us a *minimum* measure of the degree of precision of the results. Thus, generalizations derived by objective methods can and should be of a known degree of accuracy under given conditions. Later, when methods of investigation have improved and also when the problem under consideration requires greater accuracy, we may discover without embarrassment that the true inaccuracy of our earlier measure was much greater than the earlier known amount.

It would be a handicap to sociological studies on the child if the mere fact of objectivity of the items under investigation were considered a guarantee of valid results without this appraisal of relative precision. Sociologists have only recently become generally aware of this situation. Bain,² in an investigation of the reliability of questionnaires in a college class, found that objec-

¹ This article is an adaptation with few minor changes of a discussion of Robert G. Foster's article which immediately preceded it at the conference.

² "Stability in Questionnaire Response," *American Journal of Sociology*, November 1931 (Volume XXXVII), pp. 445-453.

tivity, per se, did not increase the stability of the responses. In the repetition of a questionnaire, there was an average of 23 per cent change. While factual personal data tended to be recorded the second time with the least change, the responses on certain items in the factual family group, such as sex of siblings, were changed more frequently than were the responses to a number of the subjective personal items.

In many quarters, the proposition is accepted that no inherent antagonism exists between objective and subjective methods, one emphasizing realistic treatment of overt data and the other owing its validity to the insight and judgment of the worker. But the former approach will be futile if understanding of the general problem and controlled imagination are lacking in the formulation of working hypotheses. On the other hand, the so-called subjective methods become individual intellectual amusements unless results conform to reality.

Without doubt, varied approaches are needed in a field as relatively undeveloped as is that of the social behavior of children. The rigid application of the standards of objective method will make progress by this path alone very slow. As Ogburn³ says, in his chapter in *Essays on Research in the Social Sciences*, "the entrance requirements of new knowledge into science are very exacting, and rightly so." Even the most enthusiastic supporter of objective methods of research cannot fail to recognize the limitations of the tools we have at present. While we are developing more adequate scientific methods, we must continue to use artistic methods of adjusting the child *and* his environment (not the child *to* his environment). In this field, that which has been said so frequently in other connections, is applicable; the practice of a highly developed art is preferable to the use of a pseudo science. In accepting this dependence on art while sci-

³ "Considerations in Choosing Problems of Research," *Essays on Research in the Social Sciences*, The Brookings Institution, 1931.

ence is being developed, it may be well to follow the example of Dr. Howells when child nutrition was in its infancy as a science. Dr. Howells frequently told his students that when he was accused of willingness to feed a child brass tacks, he answered "Certainly, if the child is thriving on them, but I try to find out why."

Since it is evident that we are in a period very productive of objective studies on the social life of the child, it is well to mention a few pitfalls in our path and the more obvious means of avoiding them.

One of these pitfalls is the use of quantitative methods on materials with a large admixture of the subjective, such as case histories and diary records. Not only is completeness of information on certain items frequently lacking, but the cultural pattern as well as the personal bias of the worker enters into the record.

Very often, too, we find an attempt to give apparent precision to poor data by applying powerful formulas and disregarding underlying assumptions. The misuse of coefficients of correlation is a particular case. The simple precaution of a scatter diagram may prevent claiming a general relationship between two variables by revealing the spurious effect on the coefficient of a few extreme cases and by indicating the degree of linearity in the relationship.

The limitations of small groups and the danger of generalization from them must be particularly guarded against in the study of child behavior where frequently the number of subjects is limited. One solution of the difficulty in small samples is coöperative research in different centers. This, naturally, becomes possible only after investigators have adopted comparable methods.

And lastly, there is the immense difficulty, of which we hear so much, arising from the complexity of factors in social situations and in the expressions of personality through overt be-

havior. In a suggested research on time-place standardization there are at least 1,000,000 combinations of the factors mentioned and, in addition, the permutations. I assume the author has in mind making preliminary case studies from which to select a few factors for more intensive consideration by the method which is sociology's closest approximation to experiment. Here, with large groups, one factor is held constant statistically; another is allowed to vary in known ways, while all others are temporarily overlooked. A rough approximation, it is true, yet with great possibilities.

Having mentioned several pitfalls in the application of objective sociological methods to the study of the child, but with optimism as to the possibility of their avoidance, let us turn to two objective sociological methods that seem to offer fruitful results in the exploration of problems in child development.

The first is direct observation of behavior of individuals or of groups. The large number of current researches using direct observation techniques is indicated in the bibliographies of Olsen⁴ on time-sampling techniques and of Bott⁵ in her two recent books.

Preliminary problems in direct observation are being attacked independently in many centers. These problems include the selection and definition of significant items in social interaction and the development of techniques of known degrees of precision for their measurement; the selection and definition of significant items in environment and development of means of quantifying them. The attack on this problem of environment has in many cases been delayed by the selection of a situation

⁴ Willard C. Olson and Elizabeth M. Cunningham, "Time Sampling Techniques," *Child Development*, Volume 5, No. 1, March 1934, pp. 41-58.

⁵ H. Bott, *Method in Social Studies of Young Children*, University of Toronto Studies: Child Development Series, 1933, I, p. 110; *Personality Development in Young Children*, University of Toronto Studies: Child Development Series, 1934, II, p. 135.

relatively free from immediate control. The previous conditioning processes are thus disregarded at the present stage of these techniques. But attention must at some later time be given to the measurable elements in the structuralized environment in which the child's patterns of behavior have been formed.

As soon as this preliminary work in unrelated researches has led to generalizations regarding methods or the behavior of children, we may expect that the results from different centers will be brought into comparison for challenging, or corroborating, or extending the work to date. We may assume that one purpose in the organization of the Society for Research in Child Development is the facilitation of contacts among various research workers.

The synthesis of results from different research centers is possible only after there is agreement on underlying concepts and procedures. Measures of reliability in observation, to mention one point, are quite incapable of comparison if derived by different processes; and, if the relative precision of instruments is unknown, the comparison of results is uncertain. A recent study of language claimed exact corroboration of a previous study but used a different base in calculating indices.

Perhaps photorecording, if it produces an acceptable approximation of the true record, will allow us to make the important distinction between the real error in observation and the amount of disagreement among simultaneous observers. The percentage of disagreement has been used as a measure of precision of observational techniques, although it is obviously too favorable in that it counts as correct the error upon which observers agree. In other words, the *real* observational error includes not only the disagreement of observers, at least one of whom must be wrong, but also their agreements on incorrect records. The presence of error in the agreement of two observers is clearly brought out when a third observer is introduced or when even

the best trained recorder repeats his own observation on a film.

Another objective sociological method that may be expected to have special value in the study of the child is the survey of the environment. The limitation of time does not permit more than mere mention of this approach. These surveys, as in the studies of Slawson⁶ and of Thrasher,⁷ attempt to relate particular aspects of the environment to particular sorts of behavior. At present, we are able to describe accurately such details of the milieu as density of population, number of rooms in the home, the occupation of the parents, and the child's club attendance, but we have yet to find and objectify the really significant factors. The discovery of these relatively potent situational elements is one of the results anticipated from the large-scale investigations to which we may look forward in the near future.

The nearer the child to adulthood, the more complex and often the more changing is his environment and his responses to it. At the same time, his responses may become more subtle and more delayed in expression. It is natural therefore that much attention is being given to the study of the overt behavior of the younger child in relatively simple situations.

Our general aim in the various objective methods now being developed is to produce verifiable data on child behavior in widely varying situations which will permit us to generalize as to what are normal patterns of behavior at different ages. It is probable that these standards will have to be related to measurable elements in the environment. Deviations of significance will include not only deviations of individuals in the group but deviations of groups in different situations and changes in the individuals and the groups as situations are modified. In this program, now in its infancy, there will be horizontal studies of

⁶ John Slawson, *Delinquent Boy* (Boston: Richard G. Badger Company, 1926).

⁷ Frederick Thrasher, *The Gang* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927).

the social interaction between children of different ages in different classes of society, from different nationalities and races. The vertical studies, a few of which are in the embryonic stage, will be extended to include large numbers of children as they mature and as they pass from one sort of known situation to another.

It may seem that too much enthusiasm has been expressed for the discovery of normative behavior, the existence of which has not been proved. But only as we learn by impersonal quantitative methods the sorts of behavior that tend to occur at given age levels in situations having known characteristics, that is, only as we learn to define norms, are we justified in describing behavior as not normal. Then, with quantitative descriptions of the environments, we may be able to understand a bit more of variation in behavior, desirable as well as undesirable. As we gain this knowledge, social science becomes of increasing service in the development of the child.

SUGGESTIONS FOR SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN CHILD DEVELOPMENT

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What aspects of child life and development do sociologists think they can most profitably study in the near future and at what points of child study do they feel they can make distinctive research contributions? These questions were put to a representative number of American sociologists whose names already appeared on the membership roll of the Society for Research in Child Development or whose names were being presented for nomination to membership. The solicited sociologists were not requested to fill out a schedule but were merely asked to set forth in one or two written pages their suggestions and ideas. The present paper is based on the returns of that very meager but nevertheless indicative canvass.¹

The returns included suggestions which seemed to classify themselves under the following headings: general methodological objectives, specific methodological suggestions, general problems for sociological research in the child field, specific research problems in child sociology. The returns concerned themselves mostly with the latter topic as would be expected from the initial request for suggestions.

The suggestions classified under the head of general methodological objectives included:

1. Standardization of methods of collection and analysis that combine validity, reliability, and ease of administration.
2. Agreement among investigators as to methods of research. This will be hastened by standardization of methods.
3. Utilization of a variety of approaches and techniques. By this is meant a convergence of descriptive and measurement techniques, of

¹ Returns which reached the author too late to be integrated in his paper, which was presented November 3, had to be omitted.

statistical and case-study methods, and of cross-sectional and developmental methods.

4. Determination of norms of social development of persons at different ages from birth to adulthood, with which individual cases may be compared, these norms to refer to a variety of family and cultural situations, for example norms for children of the middle, upper, slum, and tenant-farmer classes.

Methodological suggestions of a more specific sort next claim our attention. They include:

1. A need for objective definition of terms as an aid to comparability of methods and results.
2. Active attempts should be made to perfect methods of observation and recording of data. Studies, such as those of Dorothy Thomas and her associates, should be extended, and perfected methods should be employed in place of untried procedures.
3. Techniques of quantification of data should be developed.
4. Use of partial correlation methods of measuring relationships should be encouraged.
5. Determination of causal patterns by means of comparing almost identical cases deserve wider use.
6. Norms should be ascertained by means of statistical studies or by judgments based on psychophysical principles. A social contact scale for urban children is one that was specifically suggested.
7. Means for measuring the standing of individuals in reference to norms, such as on an attitude scale, should be developed. Persons of different degrees of divergence in both directions from the norm might be selected for intensive case study which may reveal causal factors.

General problems of research in the sociological aspects of child development were not given much attention by the sociologists who communicated with me, perhaps for the reason that a general statement would mean little and also perhaps because specific problems are in the focus of our attention. Nevertheless, I should like to mention two major problems that should eventually be solved when this field is thoroughly cultivated. First, our main objective is to learn the effect of various numbers and qualities of experiences in every separate type and combination

of types of social situation upon the development of personality and other social action tendencies in individuals of different original stuff and different developmental histories. Central tendencies and variabilities which will lead to norms should also be sought for each one of these situations and types of personality. We need to recognize the existence of a great variety of problems and the need of specific conclusions which only later can be built into dependable general conclusions and principles.

The second general objective is a thorough study of the development of adjustment and maladjustment of the child to various situations. We need to know how to ensure the adjustment of individuals of different characteristics to each situation. The effect of the situations, as he experiences them, on the child and the study of adjustment of children to various situations cover the major types of problems for which we should eventually seek the solution.

Suggestions for specific research problems were plentiful, but proved to be difficult to classify. Something can be gained, however, by grouping problems which refer to distinctive age levels. In the preschool period several important suggestions may be recorded:

1. A study of the conditioning factors in home life.
2. Amount and quality of differences in development of preschool children reared in orphanages and at home.
3. Differences in development of preschool children of different social classes.
4. A study of the requests of preschool children in middle-class families—what they ask for or ask to be allowed to do. Correlation of the requests with the cultural exposure of the child, to determine to what extent requests of young children are contingent on cultural influences, and to what extent on purely original and individual factors.
5. A study of disobedience of young children, in order to determine at what points resistance to patterning of behavior appears, and under what conditions.

6. Relation of nursery-school experience to development of social traits in children.

7. Study of social processes by which undefined organic processes of the newborn infant become human nature.

There were no suggestions for studies confined to the later preadolescent period, but several suggestions for studies of adolescence were submitted, including:

1. Differences in sophistication of children of different class and community backgrounds.

2. The effect of puberty upon social relationships.

3. The effects of institutional changes upon the personalities of children of junior- and senior-high-school age.

4. A systematic study of social problems of adolescence, suggested under the following heads:

a) The study of the new worlds to which the adolescent must adjust

b) A study of the definitions and interpretations which are made of these worlds

c) A study of the manner in which adjustments are made

d) A study of specific adjustments to objects and situations, *i.e.*, institutional obligations, sex behavior, courtship, etc.

e) A study of the life pattern and personality traits built up as a result of these serial efforts at adjustment.

By far the greater number of suggestions for specific researches cut across the entire age range in which we are interested. A catalogue of them is quite long, but should be made a matter of record:

1. Comparisons of orphanage and nonorphanage children.

2. The effect of the order of birth upon personality.

3. The impact of the pecuniary resources and organization of the family and neighboring families on the maturing personality of the child. This may be broken up into more specific problems, such as the child's maturing needs for money and the sources of these needs, family "sets" towards money, the process of organizing his outlook on his world in terms of his spending resources, and social stereotypes as to kinds of orthodox expenditure.

4. Effects of shifting of economic class lines in depression periods on personality of the children involved.
5. The effect upon the child of shifting relationships growing out of the father's inability to support the family.
6. Experiences with the fact and idea of death, and their subjective and objective effects on children.
7. The extent to which the expectancy of others, both children and adults, influences the interests and actions of children.
8. A series of investigations in different centers covering such points on the employment of youth as (a) the age at which, and characteristics of the position in which the child's adjustment is greatest; and (b) the alternatives to employment which are most and least closely related to satisfactory adjustment.
9. Relation of social and emotional problems of children to the number and variety of social contacts they make with social agencies and institutions, with social groups, and with industrial and street life, both within and outside of their own communities.
10. Origin, nature, and development of social concepts in children.
11. Attitudes of children towards certain selected laws.
12. Further studies of children's imaginary companions.
13. Further comparative studies of the development of identical twins separated before the age of six months and placed in foster family homes.
14. Further study of the effects of foster home placement on personality.
15. A comparative study of the rearing and development of children of deaf-mute parentage and of children of normal hearing parents of the same social class and local community.
16. The comparative speed of development in social learning and sophistication of white and Negro children in order to learn more about race differentials in development.
17. Further studies of conditions under which delinquent and criminal tendencies, moral ideas, moral habits, and strength of character develop.
18. A study of antisocial traits of juvenile delinquents in relation to family and neighborhood backgrounds.
19. Studies of the development of tendencies to lead, to follow, to originate, and to imitate.
20. Development of in-group consciousness in children.

21. Observational and experimental studies of the effect of face-to-face, sympathetic interaction upon the development of personality.

22. Development of tendencies to play group roles.

23. Further studies of sex differences at various ages, especially through adolescence, with a view of determining the effect of the role of each sex in determining sex differences.

24. Studies of race differences in the production of persons with ability and personality for outstanding leadership, including studies of Negro children of superior intelligence, after the manner of the Stanford studies of gifted children.

25. Methods of obtaining coöperation and socialization.

26. Means of obtaining morale, rapport, and *esprit de corps*, and the methods of inculcating traditions.

27. Means of transmission of customs and mores to the younger generation.

28. The extent to which psychopathic tendencies are the result of experience and environmental factors.

AS SOCIOLOGISTS ENTER CHILD-DEVELOPMENT STUDY

WALTER C. RECKLESS

Vanderbilt University

As sociologists enter the field of child study, it seems worth while to take an inventory of their current assets and liabilities and to indicate what appears to be the most fruitful lines of research to follow.

Most of us would admit, I believe, that in the last fifteen years remarkable strides have been made by sociologists in the adaptation of methods and the development of research techniques applicable to studies of various sorts. While the familiarity with current research techniques is not as widespread in the sociological fraternity as would be desired, I have the feeling that the new generation of sociologists has sufficient appreciation and understanding of case-study methods, life histories, interviews, statistical devices, questionnaires, rating scales, observational techniques, and so forth, to warrant the expectation of more and better researches in the future. There is, if my optimism has not the better of me, much more of a universe of discourse on technical matters of research within the new generation than is generally accredited and certainly much more than was true among the trail-blazing pioneers in sociology a generation ago.

Sociologists of recent vintages of training not merely understand one another's research procedures better but are more disposed to admit that problems can be studied profitably by various approaches. And they are willing more and more to adjust research methods to the project in hand rather than the project to a method conceived to be uniquely efficacious. If this statement of affairs is correct, I believe that it represents a very definite asset.

At the same time that strides were being made in the realm of research methods, advancement was being made in the conceptual framework of sociology. We have emerged from the uncleared brush of such concepts as group mind, environment, and society to the more visible plains of such notions as the situation, impact of culture, and social interaction. While we have not arrived at anywhere near complete agreement and clarification of our conceptual tools, we are at least sufficiently far enough along to place our researches in an understandable and intelligible frame of reference. I believe this status of affairs, if again I have not been blinded by optimism, is an asset, because it means a clearer and more workable approach to things sociologists think are important to study.

Another asset, also gleaned from impressions, is that the new generation of sociologists is research conscious. It wants to find interesting and significant stuff; it is eager to follow up clues and hunches from antecedent work; it wants to make a worthwhile contribution and build up sociology.

The chief liabilities which greet the sociologists who are anxious to do research in the child field hover around the lack of facilities in set-up for conducting research with children. I am assuming, of course, that we cannot expect every young sociologist to be imbued with research zeal but that we can expect those who are so imbued to possess the technical skills suitable to the particular projects selected. Consequently, I am ruling out the liabilities of personnel and am emphasizing those of opportunity.

Sociology owns and shares in few, if any, practical wings, that is in the form of agencies, bureaus, clinics, institutes, and so forth, which give ready access to cases and subjects. In the large assortment of child-guidance clinics and child-research stations, there are practically no sociologists. They must seek entrance into and sometimes impose themselves on agencies in order to

make studies. And very often coöperation under these conditions is not good and the freedom to conduct a research project is restricted. In all fairness, however, it should be noted that the doors of agencies have opened progressively wider to sociological research in the last ten years than ever before.

As contrasted with psychiatrists, public-health workers, pediatricians, psychologists, social workers, teachers, and persons in other professional services in schools, the sociologists are at a distinct disadvantage. They lack official connection with the very sources of data—a connection which smooths the way for direct contact with subjects and situations. Consequently, research by sociologists must be carried on unofficially and will continue for some time to be done by persons on teaching staffs of universities and by graduate students seeking to fulfill the thesis requirement.

The lot of the teaching-staff member and the graduate student in sociology is none too easy for productive research. Assuming at best, in some university centers, the necessary relief from chores as well as a stimulating atmosphere, the funds for carrying out research projects by professors or graduate students are far from adequate. And for the most part sociological researchers in universities must find materials and field costs out of their own pockets. Only a great devotion to sociology and an urge to make a contribution can account for the persistence of sociological research in the face of so many barriers and limitations.

It would be very helpful in stimulating child-development researches at universities if "earmarked" funds could be set up from which researchers of the various disciplines, as represented in the Society for Research in Child Development, could draw support for significant projects and particularly for projects which called for a combined attack by researchers of two or three different disciplines.

Assuming that sociologists will divert more of their research efforts in the future to the field of child study, the question arises as to what lines of research can be most profitably followed in view of the limited facilities and the present status of sociology. It strikes me that there are three lines of research or three sorts of research projects that come within the qualification of the question as put. These three types of research effort are not presented in a logical classification or in order of importance.

In the first place, it seems quite likely that comparative studies of children growing up under clearly defined social levels and backgrounds should receive much attention. The idea would be to find measures of difference in a socially acquired trait or set of traits between, for example, children of the same sex and age in the tenant-farmer class in rural communities and in the poor working class in slum neighborhoods of urban areas. Class, race, nationality, urban-rural, sex, and age groups contain manifold possibilities for comparing children exposed to different circumstances and backgrounds. Comparative studies of this sort require schedules, questionnaires, rating scales, and other measuring instruments to facilitate work with large enough samples. And I believe that there are several sociologists who have the interest and the skill to push such studies to a conclusive end. However, the significance of qualitative studies, which represent the field worker's thorough acquaintance with and description of varying situations as they affect child growth and behavior, should not be overlooked.

At any rate, whether quantitative or qualitative, comparative studies are of importance when they yield clues as to how two or more varying situations and backgrounds produce a differential in behavior and growth. The sheer differential has little meaning unless it can be adequately explained. The great trouble with comparative studies heretofore is that they have not been followed up sufficiently to account for all grades of varia-

tion in behavior they show. And another difficulty has lain in the fact that so often the backgrounds of two classes of subjects is not carefully selected and understood before the measures of differences are obtained. And consequently the way in which the two backgrounds or situations have affected differential showing could only be inadequately hypothesized.

A second fruitful type of sociological child study should be found in attempts to describe as photographically as possible the process by which individual children acquire certain social attitudes, ideals, beliefs, consciousness of kind, roles, and modes of behavior. We talk much about the transmission of customs, social definition of behavior, acculturation of the individual, social interaction, and so on. But the fact is that we know very little about the details of the process by which patterning and resistance to patterning of behavior goes on. I remember reading some years ago a fragmentary but none the less indicative account by L. Guy Brown of the process by which two little girls in the same family developed two distinct roles and personality traits adhering thereto.¹ The account represented the observations of an objective person who was able to see what was taking place inside the family circle. It is surprising indeed that very little effort has been made by sociologists so far to get recordings of the process of behavior patterning in social situations.

Examples of it have been pointed out in life-history documents and in case histories. But no systematic study of the process has been attempted. And I seriously doubt that the case history and the life history are sufficient for an adequate description of the patterning process, although they are quite revealing at points when well done. The intimate details of the conditions under which patterning took place, especially the patterning in early life, cannot be recalled by the person who is interviewed or who writes his own story.

¹ "The Development of Diverse Patterns of Behavior Among Children in the Same Family," *The Family*, April 1928.

According to his paper included in this issue, Dollard has made a very definite forward stride in attempting to get the photography of the process of social patterning of behavior of the young child in the family situation. His method of getting mothers to dictate daily on the behavior of their children and of counseling with them in regard to their reporting should yield valuable data for a systematic study of the process of acculturation, patterning of behavior, and the socially conditioned development of children.

It should be possible to push the use of this technique of recording into other vital social situations which envelop the young child. For example, it should be possible to get teachers, properly qualified for the task, to make the same sort of detailed, day-to-day dictations on individual children who have entered kindergarten or the beginning grade for the first time. And it might be possible to enlist the interest of Sunday-school teachers in reporting on the behavior of children who have been entered for the first time.

The observational techniques that have been developed for objective recording of child behavior can likewise be geared to photograph the patterning process in individual children over a period of months. While the observational recordings are undoubtedly superior to mother or teacher dictations in reliability and degree of objectivity, they are likely to lack the intimate and subjective details of interaction. Much insight, however, into the patterning process could be gained by the application of observational techniques to a wider assortment of social situations where important patterning is taking place—social settlements, classrooms, playgrounds, neighborhood and informal play groups, camps, orphanages, and so forth.

It will require a host of comparative and patterning-process studies before sociologists will be in position to deduce norms for the social development of children as determined by interaction

and culture impact. The interest in such studies is likely to remain primarily that of pure scientific description and analysis. But they should contain many valuable clues which can be transferred profitably to practical attempts to deal with children in an organized way.

A third set of promising researches by sociologists in the child field should come from practical studies. Attempts to describe or measure how certain social programs are reaching children would be practical but no less revealing than a pure scientific study. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries have witnessed the rise of many social programs that have been projected as going concerns for the welfare of children and the determination of their wholesome development. And yet the effectiveness of them is not clearly known in spite of the many preconceived notions which have perpetuated them.

I have in mind studies such as Thrasher's New York Boys' Club study and Burgess's and Shaw's "area projects" in neighborhoods of high delinquency rates in Chicago. Besides revealing the degree of effectiveness of organized and superimposed programs, such practical studies can at the same time reveal how a certain social vaccination is taking with children. As a matter of fact, organized programs for children can be looked upon as social experiments in patterning of behavior.

The continuation of sociological studies in the field of child problems, such as delinquency, truancy, gang life, and so forth should net many important conclusions as to how behavior is determined by the cultural and interactional elements of social situations. In this connection sociologists have largely neglected detailed studies of the interaction, informal education, and transmission of a subrosa culture which goes on in institutions for delinquent and dependent children. I am interested in the fact that a move has been made in this direction as is indicated by a preliminary study of the informal education and subrosa

culture in a boys' reformatory.² Life histories, interviews, conversations, and observations, collected by a sociologist who lives in the institution and has the confidence of the boy inmates, both conditions of which held true in this study, can reveal significant data for an analysis of the patterning processes. Studies of problem children with the focus of attention on patterning should be of just as much value to a science of child development as studies of so-called normal children. The fact that one set of children has become the official concern of agencies casts a stigma of abnormal on them, which is mostly unwarranted. The process of behavior patterning, which is found in the gang or the reformatory, is just as important as that which is found in the Boy Scouts or the day school.

² Sam Moorer, *Education in a Reformatory*, Master of Arts thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1935.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in fields of interest kindred to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

A STUDY OF EARLY MARRIAGE ADJUSTMENTS²

Only a very brief description of a study of early marriage adjustment is possible. I shall, therefore, present in project form the general purpose, scope and procedure in connection with this piece of research.

The primary purpose of this project is to discover the factors incident to the formation of early patterns of family life and the circumstances bearing upon their development and crystallization. The general objective of the project gives rise to several subordinating questions.

1. What are the physical, intellectual, and social backgrounds and conditions of the individuals at the time of marriage?

2. What adjustments do they make to the several aspects of life during the initial period of marriage, prior to the advent of children?

3. At what points in the development of the new family do serious conflicts arise and what predisposing factors seem to associate themselves with these events?

4. What happens to the relationship with the advent of children?

5. Can it be said over a long period of time that the two individuals develop a characteristic pattern of family life that is significant?

² This statement has been provided through the courtesy of Robert G. Foster, Advisory Service for College Women, Merrill-Palmer School, Detroit, Michigan. It was a paper presented at the Section on Social Research, American Sociological Society, Hotel Morrison, Chicago, Illinois, December 26-29, 1934.

The results of such a study as this should afford educators, social workers, ministers, physicians, home economists, and students of the family certain types of information useful in clinical and technological fields.

It should give some insight into the circumstances surrounding the initial years of marriage as a basis for understanding the types of situations related to family adjustment.

One should also be able to obtain more accurately first-hand information as to the origin of certain patterns or types of family relationship that develop and the cultural factors, both past and present, that seem to be significant in this regard.

Although this particular project has been set up to include a possible three- to five-year period, the scope of this research might very profitably cover a twenty- to thirty-year period, thus affording an opportunity for the study and development of family life from the time of the engagement of the two individuals concerned, throughout the child-bearing period—at least as far as the development of children through the adolescent period is concerned. Such a continuous project would afford opportunities for contact with husband, wife, and parents on a much more adequate coöperating basis than is often possible at present.

The couples involved in the research are all, as a rule, college graduates who coöperate on a voluntary basis, receiving in return the opportunity for such service as may be available through the Advisory Service for College Women at the Merrill-Palmer School and other resources of the institution. In some cases they are students prior to marriage, in other cases they have sought the Advisory Service as premarital clients. One or two cases have been referred by friends who knew of the research program under way.

The method, briefly, consists in obtaining from young men and women a social history of their personal and family back-

ground. Each is then given a physical examination, a Detroit Advanced Intelligence Test, the Barnreuter Personal Inventory, the Allport-Vernon Study of Values Test, a premarital Contract blank, and usually the Strong Vocational Interest blank for women. These more or less formal tests are supplemented by initial interviews prior to marriage on such service subjects as the clients desire, and approximately three or four times a year, usually alternating by interviewing husband and wife, the clients visiting the Advisory Service for about a two-hour interview. The interview data covers the following general types of information:

1. Religious life, which includes a statement of the actual activities of the family members, both together and individually, with reference to home and extra family religious participation—including such things as saying prayers, saying Grace at the table, Bible reading, church attendance of various sorts, etc.

2. Family ritual and routine associated with eating, sleeping, bathing, celebrations, etc. Under this heading, information as to household routine, special events, general division of labor with reference to household activities, etc., are included.

3. Social, recreational and play life within the home and outside.

4. Continuing education.

5. Money management and questions incident to income and expenditure—that is, how they actually are handled and what questions arise concerning money.

6. Vocational or work activities. Here information as to the husband's work and its general requirements and wife's relationship to gainful employment are recorded.

7. Civic and community relations, to include information about the actual civic participation of the members in relation to citizens' groups, voting, politics, local government, etc.

8. Cultural interest in activities as differentiated from social and recreational life, including individual and joint participation in art, literary, musical, and dramatic activities.

9. Personal club life, including the activities of the members in their own personal clubs such as sororities, fraternities, service clubs, etc.

10. Physical health and development. This includes checking on various types of physical and mental illnesses and an annual examination.

11. Sex life. This includes information as to types of literature read prior to marriage and its usefulness. The routine of sex activity and success and failures incident thereto.

12. Personality development and adjustment to each other. Here an attempt is made to get the details of conflict that may arise out of personal habits, involving such things as personal habits about the home, selfishness, dishonesty, differences in ego, ideals, disposition, etc.

13. Larger family relationships. Here is recorded the relationship which the couple have to their parental families.

14. Personal friends and premarital chums. A little information is obtained here on the continued relationships which the couple have, individually and jointly, to their closest friends before marriage and development of social satisfaction through their married life.

In cases where pregnancy occurs during the period of study, the individuals have the opportunity of an intensive monthly contact with the physical-growth department of the school for nutritional and other types of advice and help, and in these cases the child is brought in monthly during the first two years of its life for weighing and measuring and obtaining other types of information. The young woman is given such advice as she may want.

Since the data are more or less obtained through continuous

case interview contacts, along with certain physical and other types of record, it is hoped that each individual history may be analyzed in terms of its own significance rather than quantitatively in relation to that of another client. A project of this type involves a good deal of time and consequently the significance which will accrue from it will be largely the intensive study of the fifty or more cases involved, rather than generalizations that can be made from having studied large numbers of clients.

SOCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

The Fourteenth Annual Summer Institute of the Society for Social Research, held at the University of Chicago on June 14 and 15, 1935, heard research reports on the following topics:

1. Research on Recent Trends in the Metropolitan Region of Chicago
2. Chicago Studies
3. Field Studies Outside the Chicago Area

In addition, three public lecture sessions were held at which papers were presented on the general topic of the relationship between anthropology and sociology, with special reference to the way in which each would approach the same problem.³

At the first session Richard O. Lang reported on "Population Trends in the Metropolitan Region of Chicago." Forrest Weller presented "Religion in the Region." Joseph Symons gave a paper on the "Regional Distribution of Crime." Gabriel Almond discussed the "Succession of Leaders in Metropolitan Chicago."

At the second session a series of independent Chicago studies were reported, including such topics as family composition, shelterization, the Negro in politics, opium addiction in Chicago, and the metropolitan business district as an area of specialization.

³ See the *Bulletin* of the Society for Social Research for June 1935, where detailed reports of the papers given at the Institute are presented.

At the third session Professor E. B. Reuter of the University of Iowa spoke on "The Interest of a Sociologist in Studying a Primitive Community."

At the fourth session Dr. Sol Tax discussed "Folk Culture in Guatemala." Forreste LaViolette spoke on "Second Generation Japanese in California." The Reverend E. D. Beynon of Detroit presented his research findings on "The Hungarians in Detroit." Gus G. Carlson reported on "Gambling in Detroit."

The fifth session consisted of an address by Dr. Reginald A. Radcliffe-Brown on the subject, "An Anthropological Approach to the Study of Contemporary Society."

At the dinner meeting of the Institute, which was in a lighter vein, speeches were made by Drs. Ben Reitman, Fay Cooper-Cole, and William F. Ogburn.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.,
REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912

Of The Journal of Educational Sociology, published from September to May, inclusive,
at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1935.

State of New York }
County of New York } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Jean B. Barr, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of The Journal of Educational Sociology and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

Publisher, The Journal of Educational Sociology. 32 Washington Place, New York, N. Y.
Editor, E. George Payne.....32 Washington Place, New York, N. Y.
Business Manager, Jean B. Barr.....32 Washington Place, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owners are:

The Journal of Educational Sociology, Inc.....32 Washington Place, New York, N. Y.
E. George Payne.....32 Washington Place, New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by her.

JEAN B. BARR, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of September, 1935.

W. K. ACKERMAN.

My commission expires March 30, 1936.

BOOK REVIEWS

National Music, by RALPH VAUGHAN-WILLIAMS. New York: Oxford University Press, 1934, ix + 146 pages.

Through a wealth of illustrative material, the author traces the evolution of the folksong, clearly demonstrates that in a very real sense it is the voice of the people, and concludes that even such a masterpiece as Richard Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* is universal art only because it is so intensely national. "The art of music above all other arts is the expression of the soul of a nation."

Those who envision a totalitarian world and who see in the universality of music an entering wedge for the elimination of national cultures will take sharp issue with the author. It will, however, be difficult to refute the keenness of his logic and to disparage the aptness of his illustrations.

The Challenge of Leisure, by ARTHUR NEWTON PACK. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934, 244 pages.

As the title implies, this is another addition to the rapidly growing body of literature dealing with the constructive use of leisure. The distinctive contribution of this very readable little book is that it describes a wide variety of leisure activities in such a manner as to elicit the reader's interest in them.

European Policies of Financing Public Education Institutions, I. France, by FLETCHER HARPER SWIFT. California: University of California Press, 1933, 179 pages.

To this century belongs the credit for emphasizing the problems of school finance and administration. Among the leading students of this important phase of public education is Fletcher Harper Swift. This publication is one of his best contributions.

Our country has seen a marked evolution in educational finance. The small taxing and administrative school unit is slowly giving ground to larger school districts and to increased state support of public education. Equalization of educational opportunity is the standard that underlies this movement.

The economic distress of the last five years has resulted in a notable increase in national support of education. The timorous say that it is due to emergency causes, but many hope and believe that it is only the beginning of a new movement in financing American education. Dr.

Swift turns to Europe for comparative data on this vital question.

Sources of national school revenues, trends in financing primary schools, national and local support of primary education, financing vocational education, financial practices related to secondary-school expenditures, financing higher education, and budgetary procedure are the topics in general that are well reported in this study of France's policy regarding education.

The student of educational finance must keep in mind the differences in conditions between France and the United States in reading this publication. The histories of the two countries are by no means negligible factors either. Nevertheless, the report is a valuable contribution to our literature on educational finance.

One more warning—what is our basic social philosophy, what changes in our economic practices must be considered in studying school finance? This report does not pretend to discuss these questions but back of French policy and back of American practices these matters are of paramount importance. The critical reader will probe deeply into these questions and will find help in Dr. Swift's study.

The Catholic Church in Action, by MICHAEL WILLIAMS. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935, 358 pages.

This is a concise and candid description of the organized system by means of which the Catholic Church carries on its work in the world today. The first part describes the function and activities of the Church in Rome; the last half presents the organization of the Church throughout the world.

Although the author states, and rightly, that the account is noncontroversial in that no defense is made of the fundamental teachings of the Church, so frank a statement of doctrine cannot be other than controversial to those who do not accept its basic tenets.

Written for the average reader, Catholic and non-Catholic, this book gives the most comprehensive yet at the same time concise description of the Catholic Church that has come to the reviewer's attention.

Family and Society, by CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN AND MERLE E. FRAMPTON. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1935, 595 pages.

This book is of more value as a study of the life and sociological theories of Frederic Le Play than as a text in a course on the family,

such as the title would indicate it to be. Part II (77 pages) is on the life and method of family study developed by Le Play, and Part IV (235 pages) is a condensation of Volume I of Le Play's *Les Ouvriers Européens*, which contains his "whole doctrine." The few Ozark family case studies in Part III are of interest and value for supplementary reading and analysis in a course on the family.

BOOKS RECEIVED

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